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The Editor is grateful to D. S. Barrett (Queensland) for some kind remarks about *LCM* (not of course 'this number') in *Classicum*, the joint bulletin of the Classical Association of New South Wales and of the Classical Languages Teachers' Association of the same state, and is glad to know that it 'a remarkable one-man concern, is becoming increasingly well known (?notorious) both as a forum for scholarly argument (Juvenal in this and a subsequent number, and he hopes also Early Roman History as the result of the article by T. P. Wiseman to whom he promised he would make no reference in these notes, nor does he) and for its pleasantly idiosyncratic (for which readers may supply their own translation) editorial notes'. The statement that 'it is unusually fast' may still be true, and 'the editor's credo that "rapid publication is the requisite for useful, unpolemical discussion" (he doubts, on stylistic grounds, that those were ever his *ipsissima verba*)' remains unchanged, but the continuation, that it 'results in an average delay of only three months' requires, alas, some modification. There are lucky contributors who for one reason or another 'are given de average', for the Editor's first duty to his readers (!) is to provide an interesting and well-balanced number, but a (leonine? - not elephantine anyway) gestation period of 9 months has been known, and each month's number is as large now as he, as well as the Post, can cope with (for the record, this number has occupied four full typing days and not 9-5 either). He has denied chalcentery before now, and indeed suffered the reverse after Christmas, which partly accounts for the fact that the second (but not the last) instalment of C. J. Rowe's Aristotelian study is held over till next month, when it will be accompanied by a (long) list of corrigenda. The Editor is increasingly and perhaps too much indulgent to his contributors, but in their own interests as well as those of others, and certainly in his, they are reminded that though *LCM* tolerates footnotes and accepts them, it does not love the additional work they entail, and indeed articles without them, and written in an informal style, best suits the medium.

The Editor duly attended CUCD, and was confirmed in his opinion that Ancient History and 'Classics' are moving apart, an opinion for which he found some support, though it is hotly denied by some ancient historians, whom he suspects of believing literature to be a part of history. The discussion on cuts mostly avoided universities and was marked by pleas for new campaigns in support of Classics in the Comprehensives - not perhaps our first duty. But in that on classical publishing, which revealed some fascinating policies, the Editor kept silent, nor was the dreaded word Xerox mentioned - in which connexion he draws readers' attention to an article in the *Guardian* of Saturday, Jan. 15 (he commends to others his own practice of using always texts certainly out of copyright to xerox, and has perfected a technique by which he can get three odes of Pindar on a single sheet of A4); as also, and especially of those in other countries, to the renewed campaign for 'handing over' the 'Elgin marbles' (aka the Parthenon sculptures) to 'Greece' (all these words are loaded!) a matter on which he would be happy to learn opinions and to publish TWO articles, one on either side.

Circulation figures are not confirmed, but 7 have been received since November's 364.

*Bibliography.* T. Bergk, *Phil.* 12 (1857), 581; H.A.J. Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus* (Cambridge 1878), 1-5; F.O. Copley, *TAPA* 82 (1951), 200-206; E. Pasoli, *Quad. di Vita Veronese* 11 (1959), 433-436; E. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* 34 (1962), 259-260; M. Zicari, *Maia* 17 (1965), 232-240 (= *Scritti Catulliani*, ed. P. Parroni [Urbino 1978], 143-152); J.P. Elder, *HSCP* 71 (1966), 143-149 (= *Catull.*, ed. R. Heine [Darmstadt 1975], 27-35); F. Cairns, *Mnem.* 22 (1969), 153-158; P. Levine, *CSCA* 2 (1969), 209-213; B. Nemeth, *ACD* 8 (1972), 23-30; D. Singleton, *CPh* 67 (1972), 192-196; G.P. Goold in *Polis and Imperium*, ed. J.A.S. Evans (Toronto 1974), 253-264; P. Piernavieja, *ECLas* 18 (1974), 411-417; R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Selections from Catullus - Handbook* (Cambridge 1975), 34-36; W. Clausen, *CPh* 71 (1976), 37-38; M. Monbrun, *Pallas* 12 (1976), 31-38; B. Arkins, *Hetairos* 2 (1977), 12-15; G.N. Sandy, *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 73-76; T.P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester 1979), 143-182; J. Granarolo, *REL* 58 (1980), 69; G.P. Goold, *LCM* 6.9 (Nov. 1981), 233-238.

As we can see clearly from this list, the amount of recent secondary material dealing with Catullus 1 is very large, and the main issues arising out of the poem have been exhaustively explored. Nevertheless, Professor Goold's recent restatement of his preference for the reading *quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli*,

*qualecumque quidem patroni ut ergo*

*plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*

at lines 8-10 - and consequent rejection

of the *textus receptus*, which reads *quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli*

*qualecumque; quod, <o> patrona virgo,*

*plus uno maneat perenne saeclo*

- makes yet another

contribution desirable. For although the *textus receptus* undoubtedly presents difficulties, so too does this version. I shall look first at Professor Goold's objections to the received text (A), the outline my own objections to his text (B), and, finally, try to decide what version of lines 8-10 is more likely to suit what I take to be the overall purport of Catullus 1 (C).

A. In *Polis and Imperium*, 254-256, Professor Goold refers to three unparalleled features in the hendecasyllabic line *qualecumque; quod, o patrona virgo*: 1) the heavy stop after the fourth syllable; 2) the use of *o* with an adjective and noun; 3) the phrase *patrona virgo*, where the vocative has no referend, the adjectival use of *patronus* is peculiar and the identity of the *virgo* questionable. I take these points in order.

1) The unparalleled heavy stop after the fourth syllable cannot in itself be a conclusive argument against line 9: for the presence of two unique metrical features in Poem 116 - an hexameter consisting entirely of spondees (line 3) and the ecthipsis of final -s after a short vowel before a word beginning with a consonant (line 8) - surely does not mean that the text is corrupt (cf. C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus - A Commentary* [Oxford 1965], 404-405). Indeed Poem 116 may be seen both as deliberately contrasting Catullus' Callimachean style (*carmina ... Battiadae*, 2) with his present invective against Gellius, and as offering us an inverted dedication in which the poet threatens rather than flatters the addressee (C.W. MacLeod, *CQ* 23 [1973], 304-309, also H. Traenkle, *MH* 24 [1967], 103), while the occurrence of the phrase *carmina ... Battiadae* at Poems 65.16 and 116.2 - and only there - suggests that these two poems began and ended the third *libellus* of *Catulli Veronensis Liber* (E.A. Schmidt, *Phil.* 117 [1973], 223; P.Y. Forsyth, *CQ* 27 [1977], 352-353). Again, it is clear that we must come to terms with the metrical peculiarities of Poem 29, where there may be as many as four non-iambic feet in a poem supposedly written in pure iambic trimeters (J.D. Minyard, *CPh* 66 [1971], 174-178; E. Badian, *CPh* 72 [1977], 320-322). Finally, the possibility of using light punctuation - such as a comma - after *qualecumque* should be considered (Zicari, 236 n.11).

2) At Poem 3.16 the conjecture of the Parma edition of 1473 - *o miselle passer* - would provide another example of *o* used with an adjective and noun; Professor Goold has, however, argued strongly against the resulting hiatus (*Phoenix* 23 [1969], 186-203; contra M. Zicari, *Phoenix* 18 [1964], 193-205). But in any case there are four other examples in Catullus of *o* used with an adjective and noun, at Poems 31.12, 46.9, 64.23-23b, 67.1-3.

3) One must concede that the phrase *patrona virgo* is difficult because it gives the poem two addressees, involves a peculiar adjectival use of *patronus*, and does not allow ready identification of the personage in question (generally taken to be the Muse). But the existence of two addressees - Nepos and the Muse - can be paralleled from Horace, *Odes* 2.1, which addresses Pollio and the Muse (Cairns, 155-158), while Catullus' use of *unigena*, 'only begotten', to mean 'born of one parent' at Poems 64.300, 66.53 (cf. Fordyce ad loc.), together with the fact that the Muses are clearly regarded as patrons of poets at Suetonius, *Gram.* 6 *quia scriptores ac poetas sub clientela Musarum iudicaret* (with Levine, 215 n.27), may make this use of *patronus* less questionable. More significantly, an appeal to the Muse for immortality in a programmatic poem written specifically to introduce Poems 2-60 (O. Skutsch, *BICS* 16 [1969], 38) is appropriate in itself, conforms to the practice of Catullus' poetic mentor Callimachus (*Aetia* 1, fr. 7.13-14 Pfeiffer), and ensures that the appearance of a Muse here balances that of the single Muse Urania at Poem 61.2 (for the choice of whom see V.A. Estevez, *Maia* 29-30 [1977-1978], 103-105) and the plurality of Muses at Poem 65.1-4. In which case the opening poem of each of the three *libelli* of Catullus refers to a Muse or Muses, and Nepos' three rolls (line 6) are balanced by three from Catullus (K. Quinn, *Catullus* -

An Interpretation [London 1972], 18-19).

Finally, it is not the case that the Muse or Muses make no appearance in Catullus' lyrics and epigrams. In the famous assertion at Poem 16.5-6

*nam castum esse decet pium poetam  
ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est* and in the curse at Poem 14.6-7  
*isti di mala multa dent clienti,  
qui tantum tibi misit impiorum* the adjective *pius* and its oppo-

site *impius* have the sense of 'sincerely devoted to the Muse' or 'not at all devoted to the Muse' respectively (T.N.Winter, *Arethusa* 6[1973], 260-261; H.D.Rankin, *SO* 51[1976], 89-90). Again, Poem 105.2 explicitly refers to the Muses *Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt*

B. There are, then, serious, though not necessarily insurmountable, objections to the *textus receptus*. But there are equally serious objections to Professor Goold's proposed text: 1) the postponement of *ut* and separation of *ergo* from the noun it governs; 2) the consequently contorted word order and jerky rhythm of lines 8-10; 3) the notion that Cornelius Nepos is the *patronus* of Catullus.

1) The drastic postponement of *ut* to the ninth syllable of a hendecasyllabic line is unique in Catullus, more pronounced than at Martial 5.60.5 (often cited in its support), and to be differentiated from the postponement of *namque* at Poem 66.65, which clearly derives from Catullus' model in that poem, Callimachus (D.O.Ross Jr., *Style and Tradition in Catullus* [Cambridge Mass. 1969], 68). Again, the appearance of *ergo* here is questionable because not only is *ergo* governing a genitive not found elsewhere in Catullus, and is indeed used hardly at all in poetry, but *ergo* almost always follows immediately after the genitive (Clausen, 38 n.2; Granarolo: *contra* Sandy, 76 n.29). Finally it should be noted that the elision of -i before u- is rare (Monbrun, 35 n.18).

2) While objections may be made to the *textus receptus* because of the loose connexion of the wish introduced by *quod* to what proceeds, and because of the asyndeton of *quidquid hoc libelli | quaecumque* (but cf. Poem 36.10 *iocose lepide*, with W.Kroll, *C. Valerius Catullus* [Stuttgart 1968], ad loc.), Professor Goold's text - in which *ut* is drastically postponed, *ergo* separated from its noun, and *est* omitted after *quaecumque quidem* - to my mind concludes the poem with both a very contorted word order and rather a jerky rhythm. Equally well, the proposal to place a colon or full stop after *libelli* and to read

*quaecumque quod est, patrona virgo* (Cassata, Wiseman) is open to the same objections in regard to word order and rhythm.

3) The most serious objection to the reading *patroni ut ergo* is that it is very difficult to see in what sense Cornelius Nepos is a *patronus* of Catullus. Coming from a wealthy provincial background (T.P.Wiseman, *JRS* 69[1979], 167-168), Catullus had no need of material patronage of the kind afforded Horace by Maecenas, and, even if he had, there is nothing to suggest that *patronus* would be the appropriate term to describe such a benefactor (P. White, *JRS* 68[1978], 74-92). So Nepos is presumably regarded as Catullus' patron because he praised the poet's work, as *patronus libelli* (Bergk). But while *patronus* can be used in a transferred sense - *translate de quovis defensore dicitur*, Forcellini, s.v. - 'in classical Latin, *patronus* is not used in speaking of literary relationships' (White, 79). All of which indicates that the notion of Nepos as a *patronus* of Catullus must be abandoned.

C. The thrust of the argument so far strongly suggests that the *textus receptus* is to be preferred to that of Professor Goold. But some might return a verdict of *non liquet* - if we confine ourselves to the issues raised up to this point. So the way forward may be to broaden the discussion, and ask which version of lines 8-10 coheres best with the overall meaning of Poem 1, and with what we know of Catullus' attitudes to poetry.

Since Catullus has very definite views about poetry (W.Buchheit, *H* 87[1959], 309-327, = *Catull*, ed. R.Heine [Darmstadt 1975], 36-61; G.N.Sandy, *Phoenix* 25[1971], 54-57), and since many of these derived from Callimachus (W.Clausen, *GRBS* 5[1964], 181-196. = *Approaches to Catullus*, ed. K.Quinn [Cambridge/New York 1972]; R.A.O.M.Lyne, *CQ* 28[1978], 167-187), we would expect strong Callimachean views in a poem written by Catullus about his own poetry. Which is precisely what we find in Poem 1 (for detail see Elder, Cairns, Latta). Using a favourite structural pattern, in which a poem opens with a question or answer to be followed by an introductory *nam* giving the reason and a closing *quare* giving the conclusion (J.P.Elder, *HSPH* 60[1951], 124-126, = Quinn, *Approaches*, 64-66). Catullus asserts that he is dedicating his *libellus* to Cornelius Nepos because Nepos had praised his work and because, according to the poem, the historian - who also wrote light verse (Pliny, *Ep.* 5.3.6) - exhibited the Callimachean virtues of brevity, innovation, *doctrina* and *labor* in his *Chronica*. Nepos is therefore the fitting recipient of a *libellus* which is explicitly stated to possess originality, charm and polish (lines 1-2) and which implicitly possesses the other Callimachean qualities attributed to the historian (Cairns, 154; Levine, 212). Now the mode through which all this is conveyed is that of ironic self-depreciation (for which see A.C.Romano, *Irony in Juvenal* [Hildesheim 1979], 26-28), emphasized by the use of colloquial language (Copley). But there is clearly a limit to this sort of irony, and, while Catullus is not strongly assertive like Horace in *Odes* 1.1 (for the contrast see E.Fraenkel, *Horace* [Oxford 1957], 232-233), it is unthinkable that he imagines his *libellus* - which contains masterpieces like Poems 7, 8 and 11 - as becoming immortal because it is dedicated to a man who has praised some of its contents. A divine Muse, on the other hand, is precisely what is

needed to ensure immortality for a new book, and one which Catullus knows to be valuable (Lyne, 35). So, with the Renaissance supplement *o*, lines 8-10 of Catullus 1 should read

*quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli  
qualecumque, quod, o patrone virgo,  
plus uno maneant perenne saeculo.*

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T.P.WISEMAN(Exeter): *The credibility of the Roman annalists*

LCM 8.2(Feb.1983), 20-22

This piece needs a word of explanation, and excuse. It is prompted by Tim Cornell's review, in *JRS* 72(1982), 203-206, of my book *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester U.P. 1979) - hereafter *Clio*. But it is not in any sense a complaint. The Editor, whose views on controversy in *LCM* may be found at 6.1(Jan.1981), 6, and 6.8(Oct.1981), 193, would, I'm sure, draw the line at that even if it were called for, which it certainly is not. C. is very generous about the book in his first paragraph, and thereafter, getting down to business, pays it the best possible compliment - disagreement seriously argued.

If it is true (and I naturally hope it is) that *Clio* 'has raised important and challenging questions about the methods of the Roman historians and about the way we should handle the historical traditions of early Rome' (203), then the place for those questions to be pursued is clearly *LCM*, which offers so useful a medium for immediate discussion. (Besides, the Editor reminds me that his own monograph on the early Fasti, cited with approval in *Clio*, 'was similarly received without favour in this country, if more approved on the sceptical continent!'). I concentrate on the important closing paragraphs of C.'s review, where he puts forward his own view of the pre-Livian historiographical tradition (206); it is there that the issues appear most clearly.

\* \* \* \* \*

C. writes 'The annalists of the late Republic were working on a subject that had been continuously studied and written about for over a century. The main lines of the traditional narrative were not only based on documents such as the *Fasti*, but had also been delineated in authoritative histories by influential men such as Fabius Pictor, Cato the Censor and L.Calpurnius Piso Frugi, men with whom one did not lightly disagree.'

That depends on what sort of an historian one was. A senior senator with Polybian standards of historiographical conscience might well respect the version of well-informed predecessors; a rhetorician with the standards against which Polybius directed his polemic (2.56.6ff.; 3.33.17; etc.) might equally well start out with the explicit intention of disagreeing with his predecessors, as Hellenistic historians frequently did (Joesphus, *contra Ap.* 1.25f.; Pausanias 9.16.4). Everything we know about the Roman historians of the late Republic suggests that they were nearer the latter extreme than the former. History in the first century B.C. was no longer written only by Senators (Nepos, fr.16P.); we know that Hellenistic models were explicitly recommended (Cicero, *Legg.* 1.7, *fam.* 5.2.2); and it is abundantly clear that the men who now wrote history were dissatisfied with what the earlier authors had done (Asellio, fr.1-2P.; Cicero, *Legg.* 1.6). In those circumstances, it would be astonishing if the works of Fabius, Cato and Piso were treated as authoritative. The fact that early Roman history has been continuously studied and written about for over a century is in my view more likely to have generated error than guaranteed accuracy.

Everyone agrees there was a genuine nucleus of historical information - names of magistrates and *triumphatores*, a certain number of episodes more or less accurately remembered - round which the various Roman historians built up the detailed structure we see (in different forms) in Livy and Dionysius. The question is, how much is nucleus, how much is scaffolding? C. and I would give very different answers; but it seems to me what when he speaks of 'the main lines of the *traditional* narrative' he has begged the question at the start.

However, C.'s second main point is relevant here:

'The historical past of Rome was not a subject of purely academic interest in the Republican period, but on the contrary a matter of direct political concern to the ruling élite. The Roman historical tradition can be defined as the sum of what successive generations of Roman citizens believed about their own past. Knowledge of that tradition was not confined to specialist historians, but was widely disseminated throughout the educated upper classes.'

We may agree that the tradition was the sum of what was believed; but knowledge of that tradition is not the same as knowledge of actual events unless we assume from the start that the grounds for belief were invariably sound. That seems to me a very big assumption. How accurately did a Roman aristocrat of Fabius Pictor's time remember the *res gestae* of his ancestors two or three hundred years earlier? Not very, to judge by Metellus Scipio (Cicero, *Att.* 6.1.17f.). How scrupulous would he be in disbelieving a plausible fiction that was complimentary to them? Not very, to judge by what we know of funerary orations

and *tituli imaginum* (Cicero, *Brut.* 62; Livy, 4.16.4 & 8.40.4f.). The aristocrats' world was competitive, and the quality of one's ancestors was one of the subjects of the competition (Lucretius 2.11 *contendere nobilitatem*; Horace, *Odes* 3.1.10-14 *hic generosior ... contendat*; cf. Cicero, *Mur.* 14f. on the *contentio dignitatis*). So I think we should be sceptical of this picture of serious-minded senators guaranteeing the purity of a genuine tradition; some of them had a vested interest in revising it. Here too, the fact that the historical past of Rome was of direct political concern to the ruling élite is arguably more likely to have produced false history, not less.

But would false history be believed? C. goes on:

'We can assume that men such as Cicero and Varro knew a pseudo-historical lie when they came across one; moreover, they did not need to depend on the likes of Valerius Antias for information about the past.'

Well, yes and no. Cicero could certainly recognize *mendaciuncula* - and use them too, when it suited him (Cicero, *Brut.* 42 - on this matter, incidentally, C. misinterprets *Clio* 31-35, attributing to me the opposite of what I say about Cicero at 35 paragraph 3: again, no complaint - it is always possible to misunderstand a dense argument, expressed no doubt with less than total lucidity, especially if it is leading the reader to conclusions he instinctively resists). With Varro, it is much less easy to tell. What are we to make of the fact that he and Antias shared the view that Romulus' men kidnapped exactly 527 girls at the festival of Consus (Dionysius, 2.47.4; Plutarch, *Rom.* 14.6)? To us, that is a patently unhistorical piece of spurious ἀφίβεια; for Varro, I suspect, it was plausible, not obviously false, and preferable to the other available version (30 girls, after whom the *curiae* were named) - so he accepted it.

Here we come to the nub of the matter. Every historian, ancient or modern, decides what to believe on his own criteria of probability. C. quotes Livy's rejection of late-annalistic casualty figures at Trasimene in favour of Fabius Pictor's as if it proved that 'divergencies from the established tradition were easily spotted' (206). But we can hardly draw so general a conclusion. I think ancient authors' decisions about what to accept and what not were taken *ad hoc*, by the application of τὸ εἰκός to each particular case. Here, it happens that the εἰκός criterion Livy used ('Fabius was a contemporary, he should have known') was one the modern historian accepts as valid. But it doesn't always - or often - happen like that. In *Clio* I tried to explore some of the ways in which ancient historians' criteria of τὸ εἰκός were different from ours - and I don't think we should be afraid to say that in general our criteria are better.

Let me take a couple of simple examples. The famous story of the *ludi Romani* of 491 - the flogged slave, the dream of Latinus, the repetition of the games - appeared in all the early authors (Cicero, *div.* 1.55), just as it appears in Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch, without any doubt of its authenticity. We happen to know its origin - an aetiological explanation of *instauratio* from σταυρός (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.11.3). To the ancient authors, whether or not they cared about the etymology, the story was plausible and therefore acceptable. We moderns, however, accept neither the etymology nor the story. There is no controversy here; because the modern historian is interested in politics, not piety or significant dreams, he can reject this item without a qualm. But what about the very political story of Sp. Maelius in 440? All three of the main characters have patently aetiological names: the killer was Servilius Ahala, the family *cognomen* deriving from the knife he concealed under his arm (Dionysius, 12.4.5); the would-be tyrant was called Maelius, since the Aequimaelium supposedly got its name from the demolished house of a *malus civis* (Cicero, *dom.* 101); the informer was Minucius, whose role was dictated by his name in a Greek aetiology (Dionysius, 12.1.14, 2.1, 4, 3 & 6 Μηνύκιος μινυτής) and explained the *columna Minucia* outside the Porta Trigemina (Pliny, *NH* 18.15 & 34.21). Is this story really worth any more than the other? My guess is that the only genuine fifth-century element in it is the famine that supposedly gave Maelius his opportunity; that at least is likely to have been recorded at the time (Cato, *fr.* 77P.).

I take aetiology as an example because it is comparatively easy to detect; but there were plenty of other motives for plausible invention (see *Clio*), and I do not believe that even the most scrupulous ancient authors systematically looked out for them as we do (or should), in order to discount them. 'Cicero did not need Antias for information about the past', says C.; but if Cicero found in Antias a story he could use (in a dialogue, for instance) which was plausible and did not conflict with what he already knew - which satisfied, that is, his own criteria of τὸ εἰκός - I do not for a moment suppose that he would hesitate to use it. The same applies to Livy, and even more so, in that Livy's criteria of plausibility in political and military narrative were surely more accommodating than those of Cicero, or any senatorial historian with experience of the real thing.

How much is nucleus, how much is scaffolding? On the *superbia Claudiana* tradition, C. cites with approval the view of Mommsen, that 'this picture is certainly overdrawn, and much of the colouring is probably the work of scribblers active in the first century B.C.' (204), but he believes that the fabrication of whole episodes is 'quite impossible' (206). For example, P. Claudius' drowning of the sacred chickens in 241, which C. regards as historical: he appeals to Polybius 1.52.2 and Naevius *fr.* 45M. to show that the Claudii really were as the late annalists portrayed them (205). But Polybius merely says of Publius ἀλογίστως τοῖς πράγμασι μεχρημένους, and Naevius' line *superbiter contemptim conterit legiones* is a fragment

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without a context: we do not know to whom it referred, nor whose the legions were. Even granted that Naevius was talking about P.Claudius, there is nothing to show that his was a specifically Claudian arrogance, rather than that shown by a Popillius Laena, a Servilius Caepio, or any other member of the Roman oligarchy.

More important is the matter of those first-century 'scribblers'. Who were they scribbling for? C. writes (206):

'It would be absurd to suggest that these [noble] families took their information about their ancestors from history books; rather, the writers of history books took their information from the families. The gentile bias which is so evident in most of the surviving tradition is likely to have originated not in the pages of the annalists but in real-life political struggles.'

I think there is a false antithesis lurking here: does it matter whether an item was suggested by a noble patron to his accommodating historian, or invented by the historian in the knowledge that his patron would approve? Either way, in the cut-throat competitive world of late-Republican politics, the resulting 'gentile bias' might surely take the form of denigrating a rival's family as well as honouring one's own. It is precisely in one such 'real-life political struggle' that I imagine the Claudian legend took shape (*Clio* 131-135).

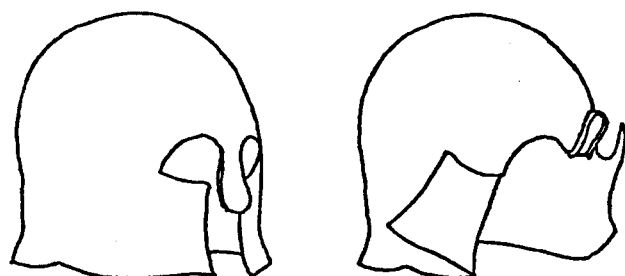
\* \* \* \* \*

This disquisition has gone on too long, and had better stop before the sound of axe-grinding gets any louder. But I hope it may provoke a debate: the issues are important, and it cannot be anything but helpful if historians are forced to think hard about them

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A.JACKSON(Manchester): *Some deliberate damage to Archaic Greek helmets dedicated at Olympia.* LCM 8.2(Feb.1983), 22-27

Of the many Archaic helmets published by the excavators of Olympia and originally dedicated at that sanctuary, a large proportion were deliberately and laboriously damaged in antiquity. They have their nose- and cheek-guards bent out and back, as in the figure below.



CORINTHIAN HELMET

L. Original state

R. As damaged

Interesting examples of similar bending are found in some other armour and among weapons at Olympia and elsewhere; much of the following discussion applies to them, though for brevity, and because helmets above all are thus damaged, it concentrates mainly on the latter

In summary, the available literary evidence does not fully explain this damage, and no conclusions about it can claim to be more than tentative. In order to examine the practice afresh, this discussion starts with the physical evidence, to see what the helmets and other damaged votives at Olympia and other shrines can tell us by themselves. It is suggested that about a third of the helmets may have suffered bending, and that this was normally done whenever the votive displays to which they belonged were no longer wanted, and helmets and other armour were buried in abandoned wells or under new layers of earth on the Stadium banks. Some dedications of armour, bent and otherwise, were later actually used as scrap metal, and it is suggested that the bending was intended to represent decay, which would permit the displays of which they formed part to be dismantled and allow their burial or re-use within the sanctuary. Other theories about when and why bending happened are discussed in the second half of the paper. But the suggestions here summarized are merely tentative, for neither the physical nor the literary evidence explain the practice fully. That suggestions can be offered at all is due primarily to those who have excavated and published so much of the wealth of Olympia's arms and armour.

It is helpful to begin this discussion by stressing how common and obvious this form of damage is at Olympia. The figures in the Appendix (p. below) show that well over one-third (62) suffered bending among 145 of the helmets illustrated and/or described in detail in VI-VIII *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* 1958-1967 (OB in what follows), and well enough preserved to show whether they were purposely damaged or not. Though the cheek-guards of some have been moved back by restorers, wrinkles and cracks betray the lines of bending, which was sometimes neat and symmetrical. Even if not, it is usually too clearly deliberate to be confused

with accidental damage, and could not have occurred so often by accident. There is even one cheek-guard which is scored by chiselling to break it off instead of merely being bent out (*OB VII*, p.83, no.34, Pl.46.5). As it is hard to see why bent helmets should survive better than unbent ones, it is not arbitrary to suppose that over one-third of all helmets dedicated at Olympia were actually so treated.

Nor was bending practised only at Olympia. Delphi and the Acropolis, to name only two other sanctuaries, have produced at least one example each (Delphi Inv.7228, *OB VII*, pp.68-69, Abb.35-36: Athens, Nat.Mus.6556, *JDAI* 27[1912], p.342, Beilage 16.2). Indeed a further sort of bending appears at Delphi. At least five out of fourteen Corinthian helmets in *Fouilles de Delphes V*, pp.99-101 (nos. 493, 494a, 498, 500 & 501 = respectively figs. 342, 344, 347, 348 & 349a) seem to have one cheek-guard pushed in slightly, as do all three in *BCH* 68-69(1944-1945), pp.62-65, fig.21 a-b. This seems like another form of deliberate damage rather than an accident, because it is relatively common and consistent in appearance. But although the temptation to identify intentional damage everywhere must be resisted, bending of helmets is certainly found in many sanctuaries great and small in Central and Southern Greece.

But this must be put in perspective. Since helmets are the commonest kind of armour surviving at Olympia, they may seem today to have been the commonest to be dedicated, and the favourites for bending. These impressions may reflect the truth, for helmets are less impersonal than weapons and other armour. But they were not the only targets for damage. A splendid greave, dedicated by Thebes from spoils of the Hyettians (*OB VIII*, pp.98-100, B4743, pl.47) was found flattened out as if it had been purposely 'unrolled' and bent out, as it surely was. A bronze shield-facing of the mid-fifth century was folded in half before it was dumped in the fill of the mid fourth-century Stadium bank (*OB V*, pp.11-12 & 38-40, B2590, pl.24-25). One cuirass found flattened out could have been purposely bent, while another quite clearly had its lower corners neatly twisted up and out (*OB II*, p.96, B318, pl.39, or A.M.Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* [1964], pl.31, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* [1967], pl.21). We cannot now tell if spear-shafts and arrows were snapped, but certainly some spears and swords had sections of their blades folded up, e.g. H.Weber, *Olympische Forschungen I*, pp.148-9, B221, pl.58a, p.164, El01, pl.71a; cf. also Humfry Payne, *Perchora I*, p.190 & pl.86.28. This recalls the folding of spears and swords in Archaic graves such as those at Ayios Yeoryios near Larissa (A.Tziaphalias, *AAA* 11[1978], pp.156-182, figs.6 & 7). So widespread a practice can hardly have been a mere meaningless ritual. There is even a spear-butt with three nail-holes drilled through its inscribed side and a snapped-off nail in one of them (*OB VIII*, p.87, B3486, pl.30.2 & 3), though their meaning would be hard to divine as exact parallels are few.

But it is also clear even from the sample in the Appendix that bending, though common, was certainly not obligatory. Sometimes only the nose-guard or the cheek-guards are bent, and almost two-thirds of the helmets in the works cited in the Appendix had suffered no bending at all. Of course many of these once had crests, which could have been mutilated instead. But plenty of the seemingly unharmed helmets have no holes or loops for attaching crests (e.g. *B II*, p.94f., B350, l.36-37; *OB III*, p.109, B1500, pl.42-43; *OB VII*, n.81, no.27, B2192, pl.40), and were apparently spared from any damage (unless they had crest holders lightly soldered on, and torn off without leaving any traces). The criteria employed by those who bent helmets are not at all clear; certainly plain and costly helmets were spared or damaged alike. Similarly it made no difference if a helmet bore an inscription that would be hidden by bending its cheek-guards; some inscribed helmets were spared, others were not. Even helmets in the same votive display were treated differently. Thus of the armour captured by Argos from Corinth (some time near 500 B.C., but presumably before Sepeia) and displayed on the bank of the Stadium at Olympia, at least one helmet was bent (*OB VIII*, pp.91ff., no.2, B4504, pl.35) while others show at most holes made by nails that fixed them to display frames (*OB VIII*, pp.91ff., no.1, B4411, pl.34, and probably H.B.Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes ... British Museum*, p.27, no.251). It may not have been merely the fatigue created by bending out parts of tough bronze helmets and other armour which saved many items. It seems a fair guess that only a certain rough fraction of these votives had to be damaged, just as only part, such as a tithe, or the finest of booty, had to be offered to the god.

As for the question of when this bending was done, the seeming indifference, noted above, with which those responsible concealed inscriptions on some helmets by bending their cheek-guards back is very relevant. It is not only typical of the apparently random infliction of damage. It almost proves that those helmets at least were not bent until after their inscriptions had ceased to be of interest or importance, that is when displays of spoils of which they formed part were disused and dismantled. For many such inscriptions mention victors and defeated and can only have been meant to be read by visitors inspecting the displays at Olympia. These displays were periodically dismantled, in and after the sixth century, sometimes quite soon after they had been set up (for example *OB VII*, p.116 n.66, B1501, with *OB III*, pp.108f., pl.40, a helmet of the second quarter of the sixth century forming part of the mid-century Stadium bank). Perhaps it was normally when the posts and other woodwork of displays with arms and armour nailed to them rotted through that priests had them removed and dumped. The fine state of some armour even now shows that they did not always delay until corrosion spoiled it. On some occasions, e.g. when the Stadium was built in the mid-sixth



century and reshaped in the mid fifth they may not even have waited for wet rot to set in before burying surplus armour down disused wells or as part of the fill in new banking (e.g. *OB I*, pp.22f. & 44; *II*, pp.10f. & 67f.; *III*, pp.10f.; *V*, p.11 & pl.1; *VII*, pp.116f.; *VIII*, pp.25-33). Sooner or later, then, votive inscriptions would no longer need to be seen and the appearance of these offerings to the god would no longer matter so much; indeed, the jagged edges of nail holes in the nape guards of many helmets from Olympia show that they were wrenched off their display frames without care or compunction. This, therefore, seems the only possible, as it was the last possible, moment for bending out nose- and cheek-guards. Had those present when spoils were dedicated been responsible, they would have presumably avoided bending helmets with inscribed cheek-guards, or else inscriptions would have been placed on areas not to be hidden by bending - unless there was some reason, to us quite obscure but to temple staff overriding, for apparently random damage to new dedications. Since there is no obvious reason why spoils should have been damaged while on display, when their own sanctity would have protected them, the time when they were discarded seems the only moment when these inscribed helmets, at least, could have been damaged.

So far, it remains just possible that inscribed ones could have been damaged before this stage. But it is hard to see why they should have been, and some support for the view that the damage only occurred when spoils, inscribed or otherwise, were discarded is given by the contrast with the Archaic arms and armour from Isthmia, which their excavator, Professor Oscar Broneer, generously allowed me to study. Though these are fragmentary, having been damaged by the fire which destroyed the Archaic temple in the 470s, none seem certainly to have been deliberately damaged before that fire, either on dedication or on display, except by nailing to woodwork in the temple. Thus no need was apparently felt to damage arms and armour when they were dedicated at Isthmia (and if a need was normally felt at that sanctuary to damage votives when they were discarded, the fire had presumably removed it when the scorched and shattered armour was dumped, in suitable places round the sanctuary).

But what most strongly suggests that the bending could have been done when displays of armour were taken apart and buried are the clear signs that other votives were purposely damaged on being discarded (cf. Deonna, *REA* 32[1930], pp.321-332, esp. pp.328f.). This is found quite commonly with terracotta figurines (R.A.Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* [1967], Introduction, p.1 [Roman numerals]), for example in Corcyra (Lechat, *BCH* 16[1891], pp.9f.) and Citium (Heuzy, *RevHistRel* 5[1882], p.399). At Olympia, as Kunze has indicated (*OB VIII*, p.95), some of the tripod cauldrons and other votives were violently torn up and their fragments scattered when they were cleared away. Similar violent dispersal at the same stage explains why often shields, helmets and greaves originally from one and the same votive display were found scattered over the north and south banks of the Stadium (e.g. *OB III*, p.25 with fig.2 on p.7) or buried in wells, or even washed away by the Alpheius (*OB VIII*, pp.91-95). The natural if not the only possible moment for twisting helmets out of shape would have been that when the handles and protomes were wrenched off cauldrons and scattered around the sanctuary (for the latter see also Herrmann, I-V, *Olympische Forschungen VI*, pp.30-34, and *XI*, pp.4f. with notes 12 & 13).

The remarkable character and effect of this form of damage to helmets also deserves comment. As is clear from fig.1 above (p.22), helmets were made symbolically useless, but not unwearable nor irreparably unusable. A good armorer could have straightened the cheek-guards and replaced the nose-guard (had he been unable to bend it back into position), just as a modern restorer can (and cf. D.Kurtz & J.Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* [1971], p.216). Helmets so damaged, and even those of which the cheek- and nose-guards had been torn off, could still theoretically have been worn even without repair (unlike those at Delphi with a cheek-guard pushed slightly in), though a wearer's face and throat would have been impossibly vulnerable. They were not totally wrecked by crushing, or by having their cheek- and nose-guards pushed right in, even though, at least on the thicker-walled sorts of helmet, crushing or stamping in might well have been relatively easier than bending out, if done with the feet and not with the hands. The care and effort spent on bending the helmets is underlined by the near symmetry of the bending in many helmets (e.g. *OB VII*, p.79, no.11, B4593, pl.28; p.82, no.33, B3550, pl.45; & p.83, no.37, New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.105, pl.49). Even when it is less tidy, one normally has no difficulty in telling deliberate bending from accidental damage. The precise purpose of leaving the helmets theoretically wearable and to that extent unspoilt, yet useless as armour without repair, is very hard to guess, but that there was a purpose seems certain.

No less noteworthy is the use of discarded armour, bent or otherwise, for purposes such as filling for reshaping the Stadium, or even as scrap metal, at any rate within the sanctuary. Several fragments of armour and shield bands were used in the workshop of Pheidias in the 430s, for humble purposes in the making of his statue of Olympian Zeus (*OB VII*, pp.8f, citing among others *OB VI*, p.134, no.26, B3407, pl.49.2, a cheek-guard that seems once to have been purposely bent). The burial of discarded armour in abandoned wells, or even under new banking in the Stadium, was perhaps intended to protect it as well as to get it out of the way. But re-use as scrap for such lowly if sacred work seems to us at any rate in contrast with storage and protection, and could imply that the votives had become somehow degraded when they were discarded. If bending was done then, it could have symbolized such



down-grading. When it obscured parts of votive inscriptions to be read when helmets were on show, this could have meant that they were no longer fit for display. But these speculations will be further discussed at the end of the paper. (For Pheidias' workshop see also E.Kunze in *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet* [Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Berlin, 1959], esp. pp.278-295 with fig.22).

From this examination of the physical evidence, then, and from the helmets themselves, or strictly speaking from those with inscriptions concealed by bending, it seems a very reasonable conclusion that the damage was inflicted on inscribed and uninscribed alike when and because their votive displays were being dismantled. This conclusion, it may be stressed, is supported by the fact that at that very time some displays of armour at Olympia were actually split up and scattered, and some tripods and cauldrons were torn up with violent effort, just as votives at other shrines were sometimes smashed deliberately on dumping.

But this conclusion is not yet as well established as it may seem. It still remains possible that all or some of the uninscribed helmets which show bending (and the vast majority of helmets at Olympia, bent and otherwise, are uninscribed) suffered it long before they were finally discarded, for example on capture or on dedication. At either of these stages bending could have had a different meaning from damage at the end of a votive's time on show. Many have inclined to the view that it was done on dedication to render helmets useless and, some believe, specifically to mark them as votives (cf. Greenwell, *JHS* 2[1881], pp.65-69; J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, p.85; R.Hampe & U.Jantzen, *OB I*, p.52; H.Weber, *Olympische Forschungen I*, p.149; G.M.A.Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art - Handbook of the Greek Collection*, p.34; U.Höckmann, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel*, p.18; J.Dörig, *OB X*, p.109; R.Hampe & E.Simon, *The Birth of Greek Art*, p.127; T.Lorenz in *Tainia* [Festschrift Hampe, ed. H.A.Cahn & E.Simon], Bd.I, p.135). Parallels seem to exist for bending on dedication in holy places and lakes in early Europe (H.R.E.Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp.5-7).

It is not possible to disprove this theory totally, but there are weaknesses in more than one possible variant of it. Thus one could for example suppose that warriors dedicating their own disused equipment (as some did from at least the sixth century, after a victory, or when it or they were no longer fit for battle, e.g. Simonides in *AP* 6.2 & 52) sometimes made it useless by bending to show that it was disused once and for all and could not be re-used. Such a theory is weakened, though not ruled out of court, by the lack among published helmets from Olympia of any that were quite certainly dedicated as disused equipment and also show signs of bending (cf. *OB VIII*, pp.107-109). Indeed, one of the few bent helmets dedicated by an individual (Deinandros, *OB VIII*, pp.107-108, B4687, pl.43.3 & 4), which could have been his own disused equipment, had its votive inscription obscured by the bending out of its cheek-guards. Presumably Deinandros would have placed his inscription elsewhere on his helmet had he meant to bend it (or had he expected temple staff to do so on dedication). Dedication of one's own equipment seems moreover comparatively rare in Archaic times (*OB VIII*, p.107).

As for the attractive suggestion that helmets were bent on dedication partly to mark them as votives, it may be objected that there would have been little need to do so, as arms and armour would appear in the sanctuary almost exclusively as dedications, till almost the end of the Archaic period.

One might try to explain the bending by supposing that captors damaged helmets destined for votive displays in shrines so as to stop anyone else (their enemies in particular, presumably) from re-using them. The Ten Thousand seem to have done this in slashing a large number of Wickerwork shields which they had captured, making them useless, as Xenophon says (*Anab.* 4.6.26-27), before setting up a trophy. Again, soon after this, when they at last beheld the sea, they built a stone cairn and set up on it ox-hides, their sticks, and twenty raw-hide shields captured from the natives, surely as a votive thank-offering. Their own local guide then cut up the shields and urged the Greeks to do so (*Anab.* 4.7.21-26). Certainly this evidence confirms that Greeks could believe that their gods would accept armour so damaged. But it tells us nothing about practices in Greek shrines in the homelands, where dedications were universally recognized as sacrosanct. For the Ten Thousand were among ignorant barbarians who had to be prevented from re-using their dedicated shields against the Greeks.

It is natural to wonder whether victors could have bent some helmets out of shape when despoiling the enemy dead, or on dedicating them, from sheer hatred and rage. Certainly Greeks indulged in destructive revenge in some wars; that was evidently an initial aim of some members of the Delian League (Thucydides, 1.96.1). But the systematic and laborious manner in which the helmets were more or less neatly bent and left useless but wearable does not suggest impetuous rage (in so far as one can judge the perpetrator's feelings); anger and hatred might perhaps have been expressed rather by crushing or stabbing. Indeed, though such crushing is impossible to tell from accidental damage, some helmets seem to have been neatly stabbed by spear-butts square in section through one cheek-guard from the inside outwards, not an easy feat in battle presumably, and doubtless done on plundering the dead or later, perhaps from residual hatred worked out on the spoils (e.g. *OB VIII*, p.123, no.36, B5056, pl.57). It might be held that such stabbing was done to mark dedication

(cf. *OB I*, p.52). This is entirely possible, yet even this apparently violent damage could have been inflicted long after victory and after dedication, with spears from votive displays being dismantled. But the stabbed cheek-guards of some helmets were also bent up in the manner now at issue; stabbing would have been if anything harder then, and it more probably preceded bending, perhaps by a long interval (stabbed and bent helmets e.g. *OB VIII*, pp.119f., no.28a, B5601, pl.56; pp.144f., no.II.2, B353, pl.78; p.146, no.II.11, B1924, pl.85.3b). At any rate, there is no obvious need to associate any bending with the vengeful rage of captors on the field or as they prepared spoils for dedication.

Some bending might be seen as a magic device to make surviving enemies' throats and faces vulnerable, which would not be unparalleled elsewhere. But the available evidence does not justify confidence that this explains the practice in Greece.

A final point against all theories that hold dedicators responsible for any of the above motives is that, though the Ten Thousand might have to dedicate slashed wicker shields in barbarian lands, dedicators would normally have wanted their offerings to be in fine condition. Their spoils at shrines were sometimes called *ἀποθήματα*, and in Meiggs and Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, pp.99f., no.42 B, lines 9-10, it is explicitly stated that Knossos and Tylissos are to send their finest spoils to Delphi. Indeed, some helmets from Olympia are still almost as good as new. Thus no theory of damage by dedicators seems well enough grounded to explain all cases of this curious practice, even among uninscribed helmets.

We may go on to ask whether temple staff receiving dedications might have had reasons that overrode the wishes of dedicators for making many gifts of helmets, with or without inscriptions, useless although still wearable. Certainly they cannot have been concerned to discourage pilferers, since votive offerings would have been respected down to the fifth century (cf. E.Schlesinger, *Die griechische Asylie*, Diss.Giessen 1933, p.30), and since bent cheek-guards could anyway have been straightened, as we have seen above. Neither perhaps would they, any more than dedicators, have needed so drastic and laborious a method, merely in order to mark some uninscribed helmets as dedications, since they would normally have been presumed to be such. It might be asked whether they felt a need to purify some at least of the armour from enemy dead. Certainly material objects involved in bloodshed might be considered polluted. Fourth century sources say that in Athens, if a stone or piece of wood or iron cast by a person unknown killed anyone, it was tried and cast beyond the frontiers (Demosthenes, 23.76, and *AthPol* 57.4; cf. Plato, *Laws* 9.873e - 874b). But if the armour of enemies killed by its dedicators had been felt to be polluted, it would surely never have been offered to the gods at all, and in any case killing enemies in conventional warfare did not create such bloodguilt (cf. Demosthenes, 23.61, and Aristotle ap. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 28.7). But if, then, there was no need to purify such armour in this way, perhaps the staff of sanctuaries that were by definition immune from violence and war felt that they had in some sense to neutralize warlike offerings fresh from battle, by damage which left them useless for war but still wearable, thus not ruining them as offerings (cf. *JHS* 90 [1970], *Archaeological Reports* 16 [for 1969/70], p.54). But against this, I now think, presumably Zeus' evident acceptance of such offerings would in itself have proved that they were harmless, and the sanctity of his temple precincts would have ensured it. In any case, since any such 'neutralization', and all the more removal of any pollution, would surely have seemed to temple staff a task of the utmost urgency, it would be hard to see why so many helmets and other armour, and especially so many swords and spearheads, were manifestly never damaged while they were in the sanctuary, not even when they were discarded.

No convincing proof, then, seems to exist that bending of uninscribed (or other) helmets was usually done, either by dedicators or temple staff, at the moment of dedication, let alone earlier. There may well have been exceptions, perhaps for dedications in certain particular circumstances. But it seems reasonable to suppose that bending was normally done when disused votive displays were pulled down, scattered and dumped, as the physical evidence seems to suggest, just as and when other votives were torn up or broken, scattered or buried, that is, when they were disused.

We are still left, however, with the problem of why temple staff felt that they had to make a substantial proportion of helmets useless at that stage, and with the fact that some discarded armour, bent and otherwise, could even be used as scrap metal. There are several possible motives, besides the speculation already mentioned and to be discussed at the end, which seemed to emerge from the physical evidence, namely that bending downgraded helmets and marked them as no longer fit to be on show, and able to be discarded. Some rival explanations are suggested by comparisons with the breaking of grave-goods in Ancient Greece and elsewhere, likewise not obligatory for all offerings (cf. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* [1967], p.93, and L.V.Grinsell, 'The Breaking of Objects as a Funerary Rite', *Folklore* 1961, pp.475-491). Thus, in some cultures, grave-goods seem to have been broken to frustrate robbers, or to warn chance finders that the goods belonged to a dead person whose anger should not be aroused (Grinsell, p.476 no.[ii] & p.483 [Myrina], and E.O.James, *Primitive Religion*, p.141). Similarly, discarded helmets could have been bent to warn, not temple robbers who would not be expected, but casual finders that despite removal from actual display they were still a god's property, though one would expect all arms and armour to have been bent, to warn of divine anger, if so (cf., for other votives, Daremberg-Saglio, *Donarium*, p.381, and W.H.D.Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p.346). Instead of, or alongside,

this motive, dedications could have been damaged simply because they were to be buried, just as dead warriors' swords and spears were sometimes bent and folded before burial in graves. Some archaeologists speak of this latter practice as 'killing', as if it were meant to enable some of a warrior's weapons to continue to serve their owner in death. Indeed, a Corinthian helmet in the Tomba dei Flabelli di Bronzo at Populonia seems to have had its cheek-guards bent out (Minto, *MonAnt* 34[1931-32], Tav.5 no.4, top right). But since the votives we are considering still belonged to an immortal (and no longer to their original warrior owners, though dead at the victor's hands) the two practices would seem rather distantly akin. If there was a link, perhaps it involved a wish to show symbolically that, just as with the folded spear or sword of a dead warrior, no-one else was fit to use (at any rate for their original purpose) arms and armour that had once been dedicated to a god, even if they had been discarded (for damage to weapons in burials as such a mark of respect, see Grinsell, *Folklore* 1961, p.477 [vii] & pp.478f. [ii]). But the re-use of discarded armour bent and otherwise as scrap in Pheidias' workshop suggests a businesslike attitude to discarded votives instead of one so respectful, and seems to rule out all the motives that bring grave goods into the discussion.

This re-use and a process of elimination allow us to consider finally in more detail whether bending represented at least a down-grading or (partial) deconsecration. Much the same has already been suggested in the case of terracotta statuettes broken when they were cleared out of temples at Citium (Heuzy, *RevHistRel* 5[1882], p.399). One could speculate further that the bending was meant to symbolize decay. For when votives of precious metal in sanctuaries decayed they were commonly removed, melted down and recast as bowls for re-use or as ingots for storage (cf. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p.345, and Homolle, *BCH* 6[1882], pp.91-94, at Delos). It might have seemed necessary before votive displays of armour and weapons could be removed (and *inter alia* used as scrap metal) for at least some helmets to be deliberately bent and to be made useless as armour (although not completely unwearable), thus simulating decay. The lack of deliberate damage to the scorched and ruined fragments of armour at Isthmia, burnt in the 470s and then dumped, is consistent with this. Plutarch states (*Quaest.gr.* 37 = *Mor.* 273c-d) that the Romans left their dedications of spoils to decay unrepaired. W.K.Pritchett (*The Greek State at War*, II pp.253-258) concludes from this and Aeschines, 3.116, and other texts, that 'the Greek convention prohibited renewal of any skyla., whether applied to temples and stoas or fastened to the trophy stand'. Probably the sanctity which protected dedications on show would have needed formal ending or qualification by temple authorities before displays of armour could be removed. Perhaps then the bending of so many helmets at Olympia made them, and marked them as, unfit for display, and was a compromise between respect for dedications and the practical needs of a crowded and busy sanctuary. But the evidence does not prove that this guess is right or the sole possible explanation, and much about the practice remains obscure.

APPENDIX: Frequency of bending in some of the helmets from Olympia illustrated and/or described in detail in *OB VI-VIII*

1. 'KEGELHEIM' type	Cheek-guards shown in <i>OB VI</i> , pp.118-125 & plates	6	out of 15
2. 'ILLYRIAN' types	Illustrated and/or described in detail in <i>OB VI</i> , pp.125-151 & plates, and in <i>OB VIII</i> , pp.116-135 & plates	8	23
	Early Form	3	7
	Middle Form	9	20
	Late Form	2	7
3. CORINTHIAN with crest-ridges	from <i>OB VII</i> , pp.59-77, & plates	at least 21	42
4. CORINTHIAN of 'MYROS' type	from <i>OB VII</i> , pp.77-116 & plates	at least 13	31
5. 'CHALCIDIAN' type	from <i>OB VIII</i> , pp.135-183 & plates		
6. TOTAL.....	.....at least	62	out of 145

NOTE Professors B.B.Shefton and A.M.Snodgrass kindly read the penultimate draft of this paper, but are not to be held responsible if any errors still appear in it.

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Review: JOHN M.DILLON(Trinity College, Dublin) LCM 8.2(Feb.1983), 27-29  
H.J.Blumenthal & A.C.Lloyd, ed., *Soul and the Structure of Being in Late Neoplatonism: Syrianus, Proclus and Simplicius*, Liverpool UP 1982, pp.vii + 95. £6.50. ISBN 0 85323 404 3

This is a collection of four papers, delivered (and deliberated upon) at a colloquium on Later Neoplatonism held at Liverpool on April 15-16, 1982, largely in honour of Ilsetraut Hadot, who is the author of one of the papers. Since the present reviewer had to back out of this colloquium by reason of a subsequent engagement in California, it gives him particular pleasure to review the results of it now.

Each of the four papers, I am glad to say, makes an important contribution to our

understanding of some aspect of later Neoplatonism. First, Anne Sheppard (who has recently produced an excellent study of Syrianus' exegesis of Plato's *Republic* in *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic* [Hypomnemata, Heft 61], Göttingen 1980) gives that much neglected man another airing in 'Monad and Dyad as Cosmic Principles in Syrianus'. The authoritative work on Syrianus' metaphysics, and his enormous influence on Proclus, remains to be written, but Sheppard has made a good start with a study of Syrianus' use of the concepts 'monad' and 'dyad' in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, one of his two surviving works (though in fact his commentaries on the *Timaeus* and the *Parmenides* can be largely recovered from those of Proclus, and that on the *Phaedrus* from Hermias). She seeks to show (p.5) that Syrianus prefers the terms monad and dyad to Proclus' use of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  and  $\delta\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ , but this may only be because Syrianus is commenting on *Metaphysics* M and N. Sheppard recognizes this possibility, but seeks to discount it. I think she makes somewhat too much of the distinction, though. At any rate, this pair of principles is revealed as the key element in mediating the transition from the One to all lower levels of the universe. They sit rather uneasily with that other innovation of late Neoplatonism, the henads, but are best seen, I think, as structuring principles of the henadic realm, the Dyad or  $\delta\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  providing the principle of Otherness or Difference, which leads to the progressive separation of entities at lower levels, and ultimately to the emergence of evil. Sheppard's analogy with Being, Life and Intelligence as structuring principles of the noetic world (p.11) is valid up to a point, but only up to a point. Monad and Dyad do not represent levels of reality, as do the others in the noetic realm.

A.C.Lloyd, in 'Procession and Division in Proclus', after an introductory survey of Proclus' ontology in general, proceeds to address some particular problems, and does so most enlighteningly. This is the sort of work that Neoplatonic studies needs more of (though, indeed, Lloyd has been writing on Neoplatonic logic, on and off, since 1955). Here he examines two questions: 1) how far can the structure of procession and participation be assimilated to that of collection and division, and 2) how is the structure of henads to be related to that of forms? In general, Neoplatonists after Plotinus derived great value from Aristotelian logic, but combined it with their own metaphysics, in such a way that division of the genera into species comes to be seen as a dynamic process, involving procession of forms into matter (or indeed of forms into lower forms), and participation by the lower (and more particular) in the higher (and more general). A particular point of interest with which Lloyd deals (pp.26-28) is that of the two types (or aspects) of participated entity. Despite Proclus' extreme realist tendencies, it is particularly difficult to see two separate entities here; better to view the 'participated but separate' as simply the participated form thought of by itself, without its participant, as Lloyd says.

His discussion of henads is also excellent (pp.34-38). Henads are strange beasts. They serve various Procline purposes. They are a bridge between the imparticipable One and the noetic realm, which must participate in something; they provide a place for the traditional (and not-so-traditional) gods in their highest forms; and they confer unity on every 'chain' of being descending from them; on every genus and species, really. They are distinct, and yet they must be unified to an even higher degree than the forms are in Intellect. It is hard to say much that is coherent about henads, but Lloyd says most of it.

Ilsetraut Hadot, in '*La doctrine de Simplicius sur l'âme raisonnable humaine dans le commentaire sur le manuel d'Épictète*', draws attention to a most interesting development in certain later Platonists (Iamblichus, Hierocles, Damascius, Simplicius), the doctrine that the rational soul could be affected in its essence, as well as in its activities or powers, by passions, and even that it could suffer as sort of 'death' - a notion, one would think, absolutely at variance with Platonic theory. The argument began, as between Iamblichus and his predecessors Plotinus and Porphyry, as to whether any part of the soul 'remains above', as Plotinus held; Iamblichus thinks not, and this view seems to have been strengthened by later exegesis of the third hypothesis of the *Parmenides* (cf. Hadot, p.60), which was taken to refer to the soul, since Plato describes the One of that hypothesis as 'coming to be and passing away' (156a). A passage of Aristotle's *Physics* (246a10ff.) also gets brought into the discussion (cf. Simplicius, in *Phys.* p.1066.21-30). The ramifications of this controversy Hadot traces with admirable lucidity, drawing on her forthcoming edition of Simplicius' Commentary on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*.

Henry Blumenthal's paper, 'The Psychology of (?)Simplicius' Commentary on the *De Anima*', forms an excellent complement to Hadot's, as it confirms her view of Simplicius' psychology from a study of the *de anima* commentary traditionally attributed to him. The question mark in the title alludes to the fact that two Belgian scholars, Steel and Bossier, have recently claimed it for Priscian, on what I must say I find reasonably good grounds. Blumenthal admits that it does not matter much, since Simplicius and Priscian were colleagues, and probably had closely similar views. At any rate, he produces a number of passages (pp.91-92) to show that Simplicius views the soul in the body as 'falling away from itself, in a way ( $\pi\omega\varsigma$ )' and 'in a way ( $\pi\omega\varsigma$ ), shattered in its essence'. The  $\pi\omega\varsigma$  in these phrases is important, however, (like the Plotinian  $\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$ ). Simplicius is rightly uncomfortable about any talk of the 'death' of the soul through vice. That is precisely what Plato says in *Republic* 10 will not kill the soul, so any talk of its doing so must be carefully qualified.

Blumenthal is also enlightening on what difficulties the Aristotelian concepts of  $\kappa\omicron\lambda\upsilon\eta$

αἰσθητικὸς and φαντασία present to an hierarchically structured doctrine of the soul such as that of Neoplatonism (pp.84-88). Both seem to involve the higher and lower soul, and indeed νόος, if that is to be distinguished from soul. Simplicius actually refers to φαντασία νοητικῶς νόος, when φαντασία is associated with any kind of thinking, as it often is. Simplicius', or Priscian's, *de anima* commentary could probably do with a modern, annotated edition - a nice Ph.D. project for some bright student, perhaps.

Inevitably, these four essays present something less than a comprehensive panorama of Soul and the structure of Being in Late Neoplatonism, but one can hardly fault them for that. They are four substantial contributions to a most obscure area of Classical Studies, and Blumenthal and Lloyd are to be warmly congratulated on producing them.

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MRS PAULA JAMES(Southampton): serviles voluptates (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.15)

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*nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem, vel ipsa qua flores usquam doctrina profuit,,  
s sed lubrica virentis aetatulae ad serviles delapsus voluptates, curiositatis impros-  
perae sinistrum praemium reportasti.*

The problematical phrase *serviles voluptates* in the priest's admonition to Lucius has inspired various interpretations. As the speech appears to itemize the causes of Lucius' transformation and resulting misfortunes, his fall into servile pleasures is regarded as his first mistake. Infatuation with Fotis, a slave girl, was a youthful sin for which he paid dear.

That such an indiscretion should meet with moral condemnation even from a priest of Isis seems incongruous in terms of the Ancient World. If Lucius had technically transgressed, i.e. actually broken a law 'for which the penalties were civil as well as criminal'<sup>1</sup>, surely Apuleius would not have omitted to mention it. Roman legal terminology is exploited at every turn in the *Metamorphoses*. In any case, Fotis is not presented as a sexual ingénue any more than is Palaestra, her counterpart in the Greek *Onos*. In fact, she exhibits both experience and refinement in her amorous activities<sup>2</sup>.

It is not surprising that critics such as G.N.Sandy find the interpretation 'sex with a slave girl' untenable. Sandy seeks to establish this apparent reference to Fotis firmly in the context of witchcraft<sup>3</sup>. The 'slavish pleasures' Lucius enjoys with Fotis are linked with his preoccupations with magic. The erotic encounters are only preludes to the real enchantment.

John Penwill points to the ineffable and spiritual *voluptates* emanating from Isis<sup>4</sup>, and sees slavish pleasures as the earthbound and physical sensations which embroiled the hero. Thus *serviles voluptates* are grist to the Platonic mill.

However, the line becomes more intelligible if we understand *ad serviles delapsus voluptates* as part of Lucius' suffering rather than of his sin. One of the most traumatic aspects of Lucius' metamorphosis is his abrupt social demise: in other words, his total and abject slavery as an ass. The irony of *voluptas* in this context, the pleasure of being a slave, referring to Lucius' term of servitude, is perfectly consistent with the tone of *sinistrum praemium*, another oxymoron<sup>5</sup>. Lucius had expected pleasure from his transformation. The priest

1. This is discussed in Richard G.Sumner's article, 'Roman Justice in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', *TAPA* 101(1970), pp.511-531. I quote: 'The civil law penalties involved a maximum of quadruple damages under a 'furti actio' while the praetor granted double damages under the so called 'actio de servo corrupto' against anyone who even lessened the slave's physical or moral worth to the master'. However, Lucius could hardly be charged with corrupting or damaging an innocent *ancilla*. It must be remembered that Lucius' relationship with Fotis is seen in a sinister light after the robbery of Milo's house. According to the brigand's report (7.1), Lucius is the prime suspect because of his sudden disappearance. It is logically assumed that his 'seduction' of Fotis was conducted to gain access to Milo's treasures. It is in this context that it is condemned by the Hypatans.
2. For example, Fotis mimics Venus in the Praxitelean pose she adopts (2.17: examined in Singleton's dissertation *Venus in the Metamorphoses of Apuleius*. The description of her depilated pudendum is at least some indication of her 'worldliness'. For *feminal glabellum* see D.M.Bain, *LCM* 7.1(Jan.1982), 7-10.
3. G.N.Sandy, 'Serviles Voluptates', *Phoenix* 28(1974), pp.234-244.
4. John Penwill, 'Slavish Pleasures and Profitless Curiosity', *Ramus* 4(1975), pp.49-82.
5. Apuleius is fond of the sarcastic epithet, and examples like *boni latrones* for Socrates' assailants and *pudica uxor* for the miller's strumpet wife are often cited.

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reminds him (and the readership) just what kind of pleasure he received.

Lucius has experienced the joys of slavery under the aegis of a Fortuna who exults in transforming the social status of her victims. Nor is it unusual that Lucius should have undergone such a metamorphosis as his vulnerable age, *lubricio virentis aetatae*. The bloom of youth contains a dangerous susceptibility to a range of divine and primeval forces<sup>6</sup>. We have only to recall Actaeon, Hermaphroditus, Narcissus, etc., from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to understand that no advantage of looks or background provides protection. Lucius' good breeding, high station and education could not prevent him from following in the footsteps of his mythological predecessors.

Thus we may freely translate the priest's words as follows:

Nor did your lineage, nor indeed that status which your lineage afforded you, not even the learning itself with which you are generously endowed, in any way benefit you, but from that hazardous state, the bloom of youth, you sank down into the (dubious) pleasures of being a slave, and carried off an adverse reward for your unfortunate curiosity.

6. Byrrhaena pinpoints this susceptibility when she warns Lucius against Pamphile (2.5 *tu per aetatem et pulchritudinem capax eius es*)

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NIALL RUDD(Bristol): *On being traduced (Juvenal 2.149-59)*<sup>1</sup>

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The broad connexion between Juvenal 2.149-59 and *Aeneid* 6 has always been apparent (see Friedlaender's references to Servius). On *traducimur* (159) Friedlaender comments: *dort ziehen wir (wie die Ritter vor dem Censor) vorbei (und offenbaren ihnen unsere Schande)*. So this interpretation, which seems plausible, has been available for the past eighty years.

*lustrari* (Juvenal 2.157) means 'to be purified'. *traducimur* (159) means (probably) 'we are shown up'. The connexion between the two requires an intermediate meaning like 'subjected to review'. It might be reasonable to explain the sequence of thought, which is not obvious, by supplying that intermediate step. But it is hardly fair to Juvenal to claim it as a pun.

On the general point - does Juvenal really want us to condemn Domitian's reign of terror (4.150-52)? Does he really wish us to despise contemporary pathics in comparison with the heroes of old Rome (2.153-8)? If not, then these poems exemplify 'the cleverness of the amoralist' (to use Dr Nadeau's phrase). Most readers, however, would probably feel that like other simple formulae this was inadequate; which is not to deny that Juvenal was a wit.

1. See LCM 8.1(Jan.1983), 14-16.

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ANDREAS KATSOURIS(Ioannina): *Menander's techniques for lowering tension*

LCM 8.2(Feb.1983), 30-31

ἀνευ γὰρ γελοίων τὰ σπουδαῖα ... μαθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνατόν (Plato, *Laws* 7.816d)

The usual distinction between Old and New comedy, as it is obvious from their two main representatives, Aristophanes and Menander, is that the former produces laughter while the latter makes us smile.

The particularity of Menander's comedy is difficult to describe and rather elusive; something similar is the case with his language and style, which give the impression of naturalness and easiness, but of course, as we know, they are another facet of his skillful genius. The techniques which he employs are so subtle that it is not easy to trace them and even more difficult to describe them.

To lower tension and pathos Menander relied on certain dramatic techniques such as (a) the parody of a certain tragic scene or play (e.g. in the arbitration scene of the *Epitrepontes* and the recognition scene of the *Perkeiromene*); (b) the allusion or reference to a mythological situation (e.g. the exploitation of the Danae myth in the *Samia* and the *Eunuchus*); (c) the prologue speech by a deity or allegorical being, which creates for the audience another perspective on the action of the play, and a certain kind of irony; (d) the conventional expectations of the audience for the development of the plot and its 'happy ending'; and (e) the monologues, which are, in my view masterpieces of the combination of the serious and the humorous, and which are never found, of this quality, before Menander. In these monologues, which are built on the irony and realism of human nature, the quotation of others' speech, the self-apostrophe or self-reproof and the efforts at self-control are all usual comic elements. Characteristic examples of such monologues are Demeas' long ones in the *Samia*, 206-282 and 325-356 (cf. Ch.Dedoussi's excellent comments on lines 110-141 = 325-356 Sandbach).

One important, if not the most important technique seems to be the juxtaposition of serious and comic elements, of the σπουδαῖον and the γελοῖον (I do not agree with G.Giangrande's thesis that 'spoudaigeloion did not find its most efficient expression in Menander

because he neglected the spoudaion element by emphasizing the geloion'; see *The use of Spoudaion and geloion in Greek and Roman Literature*, Paris 1972, 84ff.). In what follows I shall illustrate this with examples which show three further characteristic techniques.

A. A serious monologue is immediately followed by dialogue light in tone.

Examples: 1) *Aspis* 1-96 (1-18 and 18-96). The pathos created by Daos in his first monologue is lowered by Smicrines' comments and questions.

It is notable that in the first Act there is a gradual transition from serious to lighter colour, from pathos to a smile and, in the final scenes, even to laughter:

Daos  
Smicrines - Daos  
Tyche  
Smicrines  
Daos - Smicrines  
the cook  
Daos - cook  
waiter - Daos

serious

comic

2) *Epitrepontes* 908-931 and 932ff. The seriousness of Charisios' monologue is followed by the light hearted tone of his dialogue with Onesimos.

3) *Misoumenos* A1-A100 (A1-14 and A45-A100). The technique employed here reminds us of the same method in *Aspis* 1ff.. Thrasonides' pathos, conveyed in his monologue, is gradually lowered by Getas' comments.

B. The seriousness of one character's monologue or of a dialogue is lowered by the presence aside of another character, and by his comments.

Examples: 1) *Misoumenos* 284-323. While Getas gives an account of the serious confrontation of Thrasonides with Krateia and her father, Cleinias walks up and down behind the slave, occasionally making remarks. Both his presence and his walk as well as his remarks lower the tension of Getas' narrative to a degree of comedy.

2) *Epitrepontes* 908-931. The presence aside of Onesimos while his master delivers his monologue provides a comic background to Charisios' pathos.

3) *Perikeiromene* 755-826. A light background to the tragic recognition scene is provided by the presence and asides of Moschion.

4) *Samia* 369-390. The tension of the dialogue between Demeas and Chrysis is lowered by the presence of the cook and by his interruptions, which, together with Demeas' reactions, create a comic effect.

C. A serious tone is interrupted by a comic interlude. For instance, in *Samia*, the seriousness of the situation, as it is brought out by Demeas' long monologue (206-283), is interrupted by the light-hearted scenes with the cook (283ff.) and Demeas' interrogation of Parmeno (305ff.) similarly the seriousness of his monologue at 325-356 is followed by the reappearance of the cook and by his hilarious comments.

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STEPHEN HALLIWELL (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge): *The staging of Menander Aspis 299ff.*  
LCM 8.2 (Feb. 1983), 31-32

There has been disagreement about the details of the action at this point in the play, and particularly about the location of the prostrate Chairestratos and the related movements of Daos<sup>1</sup>. Since Chaireas had entered with Chairestratos and Smicrines at the start of Act II, as the references to him at 262 and 279 show<sup>2</sup>, I take it that it cannot be right to suppose that Chairestratos collapses outside the door at 283: for Chaireas to deliver his monologue, 284ff., unaware of his step-father's body on the ground would be a pointlessly odd effect for Menander to use. Given, then, that Chairestratos collapses unseen inside the house, after his melodramatic<sup>3</sup> exit at 283, I follow Gomme and Sandbach in assuming that Daos speaks from behind the door at 299. His call to Chaireas, however, at the end of 300, should not be delivered in the same way: it makes better sense if Daos first steps out of the house and sees the young man in the street. The slave would then address 303-5 back into the house. What seems not to have been considered by editors and others is the possibility that ἀνέλγε τὰς θύρας, φανερόν ποτε | αὐτόν, 303-4, is the cue for the appearance of Chairestratos on the *ekkyklema*. One simple factor to take into account is that at 303 Daos, whether we think of him inside or

1. See Gomme/Sandbach ad loc., D. Del Corno, *ZPE* 6 (1970), 216-9, 8 (1971), 29-32, followed by A. Katsouris, *Tragic Patterns in Menander* (1975), 108-110.

2. That Chaireas does not enter at 284, as Del Corno and Katsouris would have him do, is also indicated by the resumptive εἰπὼν at the beginning of that line.

3. Although 282f. are not tragic in style, the tone of the exit is reminiscent of tragedy: cf. Sophocles, *OT* 1071f. & 1183-5, *Ant.* 762-5.



outside, should be quite capable of opening the door himself: why should he give this instruction to the ailing Chairestratos (the asyndeton in 302f. shows that this cannot be addressed to Chaireas)? Daos' words would fit well if the *ekkyklema* were about to be used: we find a call for the central doors of the skene to be opened before the appearance of the trolley at Sophocles *Aias* 344 and *Elektra* 1458, Euripides *Hippolytos* 808, and, perhaps, Aristophanes *Clouds* 181-3".  $\varphi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\iota\ |\ \sigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$  also suits the *ekkyklema*, which has the force of effecting a revelation of an interior scene (such is the theatrical ambiguity of the device): cf. Sophocles *Antigone* 346f. and 1293, *Elektra* 1466, Euripides *Herakles* 1028ff., and Aristophanes *Clouds* 182-4. This last point is relevant to *Dyskolos* 690ff. ( $\delta\ \text{Ζε}\acute{\upsilon}\ \Sigma\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon\rho,\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$ ), where it is probable that Knemon is brought on by the *ekkyklema* (Gomme and Sandbach ad loc.). The two scenes in *Aspis* and *Dyskolos* have a certain amount in common: in both cases we have the appearance of a character in a state of collapse (*Asp.* 306 ~ *Dysk.* 692 & 697f.; *Asp.* 307 ~ *Dysk.* 695); in both, the character has to be taken back in at the end of the scene (*Asp.* 387 ~ *Dysk.* 758). Earlier examples of someone on the *ekkyklema* being taken back into the skene, or at least giving instructions for the doors to be closed, are Sophocles *Aias* 579 & 581 and Aristophanes *Akharnians* 264f. and 479, and *Knights* 1249 (just parody of the verbal motif?). On this hypothesis, then, *Aspis* 387 will not be an indication that Chairestratos has started to feign his fatal illness (so Gomme-Sandbach, following Austin), but a version of the conventional request for the withdrawal of the trolley.

If it is right to discern the use of the *ekkyklema* at *Aspis* 303-387, then we have here an interesting parallel to *Dyskolos* 690ff.<sup>5</sup> Menander is employing an established tragic convention to heighten the sense of Chairestratos' desolation over the crisis in the family (building up to his parting exclamation at 282f.), though also, presumably, to give it a note of burlesque exaggeration. Chairestratos' collapse<sup>6</sup>, on any interpretation, seems an extreme reaction to the state of affairs. An element of light paratragedy would serve, moreover, to add a nice irony to the plan which Daos hatches at 329ff., where he suggests that Chairestratos must 'set up an act of tragic suffering' ( $\tau\rho\alpha\gamma\omicron\delta\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ). Daos says that the earlier prediction of death (314f.) must now seem to come true: the slave can be seen to have conceived his idea of a feigned tragedy out of Chairestratos' own presentation of his distress, and this point would be amusingly heightened if the *ekkyklema* were in operation here.

4. Dover's dismissal of the trolley as the method of staging in this scene (pp.lxxv f. of his edition) is too summary.
5. For the possibility of an *ekkyklema* scene at the start of Menander's *Synaristosai* see H.-J.Newiger, *Das griechische Drama*, ed. G.A.Seeck (1979), 487f..
6. For tragic parallels see Katsouris, *Tragic Patterns in Menander* (1975), 108 n.2.

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F.D.Harvey(Exeter): Professor Lloyd-Jones and the monkey woman (*Semonides* fr.7.75-6)

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$\acute{\epsilon}\pi'\alpha\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\ \beta\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha.\ \kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\gamma\iota\varsigma,\$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\gamma\omicron\varsigma,\ \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\kappa\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma.\ \acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\ \kappa\tau\lambda.$

Lloyd-Jones, in his informative and entertaining commentary on this poem (*Females of the Species*, London, Duckworth 1975, 83) writes: ' $\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\gamma\iota\varsigma$ : the monkey leaps easily from branch to branch, but is an awkward mover on the ground. There is much to be said for placing colons after  $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$  and  $\mu\acute{o}\gamma\iota\varsigma$ , but (my underlining) this gives a jerky rhythm, unusual in the poem'.

The exact punctuation of a text written by a poet who had never met a punctuation mark in his life is perhaps a matter of personal preference rather than of scholarship. But whatever little black marks we decide to print (West in his OCT opts for colons), the phrases remain decidedly jerky, and, as Lloyd-Jones says, there is nothing quite like this in the rest of the poem. My quarrel is with Lloyd-Jones' 'but'. Surely this is an intentional effect. The monkey moves awkwardly,  $\kappa\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\gamma\iota\varsigma$ ; the rhythm of the lines moves jerkily too, imitating the motion it describes (similar phenomena in Homer are briefly discussed by W.B. Stanford, *The Sound of Greek*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1967, 105-8, with 118 n.25). Semonides may not be a particularly skilful poet, but let us give him credit for this neat little touch.

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The Editor is grateful for this note, which arrived just in time to fill the gap, but rejects the author's jesting supposition that to ensure publication in LCM he should have proposed to read  $\beta\iota\nu\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{o}\gamma\iota\varsigma$  'which goes rather well with what follows -  $\delta\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ ', and indeed, in view of Greek preferences, with  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , and is presumably to be taken as passive. But perhaps this suggestion will be taken seriously in Manchester.